

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4099

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4916

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: POSSIBILITY OF STAGE III COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) STATE 116033; (B) GENEVA 3272

1. ALTHOUGH DRAFTING OF FINAL ACT TEXT HAS NOT YET BEGUN, MANY DELEGATIONS HERE ARE ARGUING INFORMALLY IN FAVOR OF A COMMUNIQUE AT STAGE III WHICH WOULD BE ISSUED SEPARATELY FROM THE OFFICIAL TEXTS. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENT FOR A COMMUNIQUE AMONG NATO AS WELL AS NEUTRAL AND WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS. THE DUTCH DELEGATION CHIEF, WHO IS NATO FLOOR LEADER ON THIS ISSUE, ALSO REPORTS THAT THE SWISS HAVE PROPOSED FORMALLY TO HKM THAT THE FIRST FOUR PARAGRAPHS OF THE DUTCH DRAFT FINAL ACT (REF B) BE REMOVED AND ISSUED SEPARATELY IN COMMUNIQUE FORM.

2. THOSE IN FAVOR OF A SEPARATE COMMUNIQUE BASE THEIR POSITION ON THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS:

(A) A COMMUNIQUE WOULD PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR
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THE CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF NON-SUBSTANTIVE
LANGUAGE, SUCH AS THE DETAILS CONTAINED IN

THE FIRST FOUR PARAGRAPHS OF THE DUTCH DRAFT. INFORMATION ON PLACE, DATE, PARTICIPANTS, ETC. SHOULD BE ANNOUNCED BUT IS, ACCORDING TO THIS ARGUMENT, NOT APPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION IN A DOCUMENT DESIGNED FOR SIGNATURE AT THE SUMMIT.

(B) EVEN IF REPRESENTATIVES AT GENEVA AGREE SPECIFICALLY THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO COMMUNIQUE, SUCH A DECISION MIGHT NOT NECESSARILY BE CONSIDERED BINDING IF ONE OR MORE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT (E.G. MINTOFF) WISHED AT THE LAST MINUTE TO ISSUE SOME SORT OF GENERAL STATEMENT. GIVEN THIS POSSIBILITY MANY DELEGATIONS THINK IT IS BETTER TO AGREE ON A BRIEF, NON-CONTROVERSIAL AND PURELY FACTUAL COMMUNIQUE BEFOREHAND AND AVOID THE RISK OF CONTROVERSY IN HELSINKI OVER A COMMUNIQUE TEXT.

3. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO OTHER DELEGATIONS THAT OUR INSTRUCTIONS (REF A) SPECIFICALLY REJECT THE IDEA OF A COMMUNIQUE. WE HAVE SUPPORTED OUR ARGUMENTS WITHIN THE NATO CAUCUS BY POINTING OUT THAT KEEPING THE "HOUSE-KEEPING" MATTERS IN THE FINAL ACT WIL ALLOW US TO LOAD THIS DOCUMENT WITH MORE OR LESS INNOCUOUS DETAILS, HEAD OFF WARSAW PACT EFFORTS TO INCLUDE UNHELPFUL POLITICAL STATEMENTS IN THE FINAL ACT TEXT, AND PRESERVE THE NON-LEGAL CHARACTER OF THE DOCUMENT. AS PREPARATIONS FOR STAGE III PROGRESS WE WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT TO GAIN CONFERENCE-WIDE AGREEMENT ON THE IDEA THAT A COMMUNIQUE SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED. HOWEVER, IT IS LIKELY THAT WE WILL FACE CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION TO OUR EFFORTS AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A CONSENSUS WILL DEVELOP IN FAVOR OF A SEPARATE COMMUNIQUE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO EXHIBIT SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THE COMMUNIQUE PROPOSAL. IF IT APPEARS THAT OUR OPPOSITION TO A COMMUNIQUE WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN, A FORTHCOMING POSITION ON THIS ISSUE MIGHT PROVIDE USEFUL LEVERAGE IN BARGAINING ON OTHER POINTS RELATED TO THE FINAL ACT WHICH ARE OF CONFIDENTIAL
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IMPORTANCE TO US.

4. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZE US TO FALL BACK ON QUESTION OF COMMUNIQUE AND TO ACCEPT A BRIEF FACTUAL COMMUNIQUE IF OUR POSITION APPEARS DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN AND IF IT APPEARS THAT OUR FLEXIBILITY WILL BE HELPFUL TO US IN OBTAINING AN ACCEPTABLE FINAL ACT TEXT.

5. SINCE FINNS ARE PLANNING TO PRESENT REVISED VERSION OF THEIR PAPER ON ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III

AT WORKING GROUP MEETING JULY 2, WE WOULD APPRECIATE
GUIDANCE ON THIS ISSUE BY THAT DATE. DALE

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